

ON CHINESE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

We have received, from a good number of our readers, some requests to continue the feature of the "Pages from the past" which we introduced on the occasion of the 28th Anniversary of our Party, on the eve of 24th April, and which appeared in 'Proletarian Era', in two successive instalments on 1st and 15th April last. The issue of 15th April was a special issue, the 28th Anniversary Special, which was entirely devoted on the collections from the pages of the past works of our Party on some vital questions showing how correct they were and how they still hold good today. We are glad to inform our readers that the Editorial Board of "Proletarian Era" has decided, feeling the great enthusiasm that has been evoked and in recognition of the high appreciation that this special issue has found among the readers, to continue this feature of "Pages from the Past" from time to time in order to make a systematic appraisal of what has been said in the past by COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH, an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, our beloved leader, teacher and General Secretary of our Party on different questions of great importance.

The subject we have chosen for this issue is Chinese Cultural Revolution. We have taken as our reference the article 'Chiner Sanskritik Biplab' (i.e. Chinese Cultural Revolution) written by Comrade Ghosh in Bengali which was first published in the Special issue of 'Ganadabi' (January 1968), Bengali Organ of our Party and subsequently published in the form of a booklet in October, 1970 (1st edition) and in November 1975 (2nd edition). In fact this article was based on his speech delivered in a special meeting organised by the Editorial Board, Ganadabi for this purpose on 27th October 1967 in reply to certain pertinent questions pertaining to Cultural Revolution.

In this booklet Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era gave a comprehensive and thorough analysis of the Chinese Cultural Revolution which he termed 'magnificent', 'brilliant', 'remarkable' a 'creative thing' and a most significant event'. It is Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and our Party other than C.P.C. that alone could provide a scientific analysis of this great event.

But due to shortage of space and for very many other reasons it is not possible to present the translated version of the entire analysis of Comrade Ghosh on the Chinese Cultural Revolution. We therefore, present, here, in this issue the translated version (free translation) of only those portions where Comrade Ghosh brilliantly showed the weaknesses and short-comings noticed in the Cultural Revolution. We think it would also be of immense value for our readers as it would be considered to be of relevance in the present context also.

—Editor, Proletarian Era.

On some aspects of theoretical weaknesses and inadequacies noticed in the Cultural Revolution

.....Some aspects of theoretical weaknesses and inadequacies in the Chinese Cultural Revolution have come to our notice. I have some submissions—observations and criticisms,—fraternal criticisms to make.

In my opinion, an apprehension will still be there, if these inadequacies and weaknesses in the realm of theory as also the influence of mechanisation in the thought process and organisational behaviours of the party, are not removed in the near future.

It is known to all the Communists that constant

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THE PLEDGE

Taken

On the Occasion of the 28th Anniversary of Socialist Unity Centre of India

To-day, the historic 24th April is a red letter day, a day of glorious tradition in the annals of the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed people of India.

As because, the so-called Marxist-Leninist parties of our country including the party with the nomenclature of the Communist Party continuously followed wrong political lines from their

very inception and blindly copied the views of one or other powerful parties or leaders of foreign countries, they totally failed to provide leadership to the independence struggle and consequently all the fruits of independence were usurped by the bourgeoisie; secondly, as a result of their failure in pursuing from the very beginning the correct scientific process of building up a

working class revolutionary party, inspite of bearing the name communist, they, in reality became petty-bourgeois parties. Because of these reasons and the realisation that it is absolutely impossible to lead people's struggle to the goal of revolution without a correct revolutionary party of workers and peasants, the SUCI emerged 28 years ago, on this

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Make the Fund Collection Drive A Grand Success

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India has decided to extend the period and continue the Party Fund collection programme which was taken up on the occasion of the 28th Anniversary of the party, this year.

The C. C. has directed all the State Committee and the branch committees under them to help developing collective initiative and drive of the party workers as also of the supporters mingling with their individual initiative at the base level so that they can fulfil their respective quotas for fund collection, well before the time.

The C. C. while appreciating and warmly congratulating the workers, peasants, youths and all other sections of the toiling people for their very encouraging response to the 'Call' for contribution to party funds, is, however, confident that they would keep up this sense of political awareness and show greater enthusiasm for fulfilling the target of fund collection, set in the present drive.

Nihar Mukherjee

On behalf of the Central Committee of the S. U. C. I.

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and continuous cult and practice of revisionism-reformism, in a socialist country, may lead one day, to the restoration of capitalism. That such a change can take place even through the process of evolution has found expressions in the writings and literature of Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese Communist Party is saying that there has been restoration of capitalism in Soviet Russia, and this, according to them, has taken place through evolutionary process. Such an expression, in my opinion, is wrong. Leaving aside the question as to whether capitalism has actually been restored in Soviet Russia or not, one thing is sure that coming back to capitalism from socialism is also a kind a qualitative change of society. That cannot take place only through the process of evolution. When restoration of capitalism from socialism, actually takes place, it must be kept in mind that this change involves both the processes—the evolutionary change as also the revolutionary change, indicating that there is a nodal point, a break which signifies nothing but a qualitative change. But as because, the term 'revolution' is always associated with the concept of the social progress and advancement and particularly as in social science, the term 'revolution' always connotes progress, this term 'revolutionary change' should not be used in this particular context of change from socialism to capitalism. To the extent it is a qualitative change it is definitely an abrupt change in the opposite direction, i.e. a counter-revolutionary change. There is definitely a nodal point that marks this abrupt change. In case of such changes in society the nodal point is not always so much vivid. But as because, it is not so vivid, from this it cannot be construed that such change involving qualitative transformation of one form of society into the other can take place only through the process of evolution.

THE SAME OLD MECHANICAL CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP STILL PERSISTS

It is, therefore, always, in the ultimate a revolutionary change, an abrupt change, leading through the process of evolutionary changes. Now in this particular context, since the term 'revolutionary change' is not at all appropriate (as it always connotes progress and advancement of society) they could have easily called it a "counter revolutionary change following the process of evolution". Then there would have been no scope of confusion over the term 'evolution'. This clearly manifests lack of clarity in their understanding. Had not this kind of expression found place in the documents prepared by the highest leadership of the Party I could have taken it as a lapse due to lack of necessary caution on the part of the writers. Another kind of confusion might have contributed to such a faulty expression. Since revolutionary change of society for progress and advancement, takes place through conflict and open confrontation between the two opposite classes, it does not necessarily mean that in case of counter-revolutionary change, this equally holds good. It may so happen that the revisionists after usurping the leadership of the party may corrupt the revolutionary essence of Marxism, Communist outlook, code of conduct, behaviour and practice—slowly, surreptitiously, through subtle devices and polluting by degrees and thereby degrade the society to such an extent when Marxism Leninism will remain only in vocabularies, slogans and speeches, its soul having been corroded completely leading to substitution of capitalism for socialism, in reality. The entire working class may fail to detect and resist this danger in time due to their very lowered ideological-cultural and political standard. This cannot happen overnight. With the long and continuous

practice of revisionism-reformism, this is not altogether impossible. But since this change has taken place (if it takes place at all) not through conflict and open confrontation, it will be definitely wrong to say that this is a sequel to evolutionary change only.

So in this transformation of society from socialism to capitalism, there exist both the processes—evolutionary and revolutionary (here counter-revolutionary) indicating both continuity as well as break.

The same old mechanical concept of leadership still persists

The emergence of Mao-Tse-tung as the great leader of Chinese Revolution, is, no doubt, a historic event. History has witnessed the emergence of great leaders to organise revolution in each and every country even in the period of classical bourgeois democratic revolutions. In the era of proletarian revolution too, we are witnessing today the emergence of great leaders in those countries where revolution has been successful under the leadership of the working class. But, it must be clearly understood that the historic necessity of the emergence of great leaders as also their leading role in bourgeois democratic revolution and proletarian revolution are not one and the same; they are fundamentally and qualitatively different in character, from each other. And this difference, you must understand very clearly...

Since the aim and object of bourgeois democratic revolution was to establish the individual and private ownership and control over means of production and for that matter it was a revolution for the establishment of individual rights and development of individuals, the character of leadership always remained individual in spite of the model bourgeois democratic or formal democratic

nature of the constitution of the then period. As a result, individual leadership, in such cases, was as if it was an outward entity or something imposed from above, conducting the collective.

But since the aim and object of socialist revolution is to establish, in place of private and individual ownership and control, social ownership and control over the means of production by the people under the leadership of the working class, the concept of working class leadership being the reflection of social ownership over the means of production has developed as 'Collective Leadership', for the first time in human history.

So, collective leadership in the working class party emerges as the collective knowledge of all the members of the party through the process of conflict and interaction of their thoughts and ideas and the best personification of this collective leadership through an individual constitutes the distinctive feature of the role of leadership of an individual in the present era of proletarian revolution.

So, this is not at all a case of imposing Mao-Tse-Tung as leader over the other leaders and the workers of the party and people. But, strange enough, most of the communist parties of the world, not excluding the CPC have failed to grasp the personified expression of collective leadership of the Chinese Revolution in the person of Mao-Tse-Tung and naturally their concept of leadership, still today, suffers from mechanisation.

It is true, that the common people may not clearly understand, today, the theoretical aspect of this question of concretised expression of collective leadership through an individual. Naturally there will remain in their activities and behaviours some amount of blind emotion and faith as well as a trend of mechanical allegiance to

individual leadership. But the theoretical weakness of the Chinese Cultural Revolution lies in the fact that even those leaders who are accepting and propagating 'Mao Tse-Tung thought' as gospel truth, are not themselves clear as to why they are doing so, nor have they been able to provide the theoretical foundation of the collective leadership being the concretised and personified expression through an individual leader to the world at large.

Of late, whenever the Mao-Tse-tung leadership has been charged with practising the cult of individual, they have been found saying: "As there can be no war without a General so there can be no struggle without a leader—where is the cult of individual in it?" But to argue like this means a failure to provide the theoretical basis of this phenomenon of concretised expression of collective leadership...

Collective leadership of a working class party takes concretised shape through its personification in an individual

The matter is not that simple; such an oversimplified understanding about collective leadership will surely give birth to such a situation that would weaken the collective leadership as well as ideological-political struggle inside the party. If this be the level of understanding then the object of the Cultural Revolution which was organised with a view to continuously uplifting their revolutionary consciousness and building up of characters of the party workers, the rank and file and the people will not only be defeated but will create newer problems and obstacles even after completion of the immediate tasks of the Cultural Revolution.

So, the most essential thing that the Chinese leadership ought to have done, in this phase of Cultural Revolution, before projecting Mao-Tse-tung as 'God' to the nation and the people, was to free at least, the rank and file

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Old Standard of Communist Moral Values Have Become Inadequate To Meet The Newer Complexities of Present Situation

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from all sorts of erroneous conceptions about authority. They should have established on firm theoretical foundation, the historic necessity as also the dialectical process of emergence of collective leadership in the concretised and personified expression through an individual in a working class party which is quite distinct from the conception of God in idealistic philosophy, the conception of bourgeois individual leadership or any kind of blind authoritarianism. The Chinese Party has not yet been able to do it. It seems that their understanding is confined to the recognition of the practical necessity of projecting Mao-Tse-tung as the leader before the nation. As a result, they are using the name of Mao-Tse-tung quite mechanically. Their trend of logic is such: "So long Mao-Tse-tung is correct what's the harm in it? He is providing us with correct leadership, so we are following him. After all, a leader is a necessity".

But it is not proper to view this question in this way; it has other aspects too. I do also appreciate the need of projecting Mao Tse-tung as authority before the Chinese people. The name Mao-Tse-tung has its electrifying effect on the Chinese masses. It is a very powerful instrument in the hand of the Chinese Party to rouse the people. They can ill-afford to discard it. There may be difference in degrees but the necessity of projection of authority in organising revolution in different countries will appear time and again in history so long as the level of consciousness of each and every individual of society does not reach an adequate standard. It is now observed that the necessary adequate ideological standard may not always be maintained in a party whether at the time of revolution or after it. It was our experience in Russian revolution as we

are experiencing the same in Chinese revolution. The available writings and literatures of Chinese Communist Party bear testimony to this truth.

True, this process, being prompted by practical consideration, of projecting Mao's name and authority, has proved very much useful to them, for the time being, in rousing the people. But they have not yet succeeded in providing a scientific formulation on the basis of dialectical science of logic, well-reasoning and historical facts, the question of emergence of collective leadership.

It must be kept in mind that so long as the emergence of a leader, as the concretised and personified expression of collective leadership does not take place, all tall claims of collective leadership will, in reality, mean nothing but formal democratic leadership. Scientifically speaking, a Party is able to give birth to collective leadership only when the collective thinking and knowledge of all the members of the party is concretised and personified in a most comprehensive, developed and finest way through an individual and this, in fact, is the true and concretised expression of collective leadership of that party.

Only at such a stage of development of collective leadership, a party can uproot the tendencies of ultra-democracy as the hidden influence of individualism, very often found inside a party and can give defeat to all such trends and tendencies of individualism appearing under the garb and tall slogans of democracy which are alien to all principles of proletarian democracy. But the writings of the Chinese Communist Party reflect, still to-day, some commonplace understanding about collective leadership. They still cling to the idea, in tune with formal democratic understanding, that the majority

decision of the Central Committee is the collective leadership of the party. They have not been able to develop the concept of collective leadership further than this. If the understanding about collective leadership remains at this stage in the background of historical emergence of Mao-Tse-Tung as great leader then not to speak of ordinary workers, even the leaders will fall victim to blind and mechanical practices. If those leaders and active workers who are conducting the present struggle remain, for long, such victim to mechanical concept of leadership, then after such magnificent Cultural Revolution, all evils of blind authoritarianism will raise their ugly heads, one after another, in the Chinese society and inside the party. It is, therefore, high time for them to be alert....

Failure to conduct appropriate ideological cultural struggle against the new type of individualism observed in socialist society

Another serious shortcoming of Cultural Revolution in the matter of conducting ideological-cultural struggle has come to our notice, which is very important. If the leadership cannot get over these weaknesses and shortcomings in conducting theoretical and ideological struggles then the apprehension of the reappearance of the trend of revisionism, in future, which they are attempting to weed out from social life, will remain in spite of their attainment of some immediate objectives of Cultural Revolution at present.

Through this Cultural Revolution they are trying to hold aloft the victorious flag of revolutionary politics fighting out completely the ideas and concepts of the past freeing the society from the pernicious influ-

ences of bourgeois thoughts and ideas and sense of bourgeois individualism in particular. They are conducting struggles against the influences of bourgeois and old reactionary thoughts, ideas and culture, no doubt, which still prevail inside the party and social life but have not yet been able to present a clear and complete outline as to the content and character of proletarian culture. They have yet, not been able to provide any theoretical formulations, confirmed by history and social science as to the fundamental difference that exists between the ethical and moral values of bourgeois humanism and that of proletarian culture. True, they are upholding proletarian humanism as against bourgeois humanism but a careful study will reveal that their struggle, is in the main, directed against bourgeois humanist ideology and political thoughts. But in the realm of sense of values of life and concept of morality, they have not been able to establish the moral and ethical values of proletarian culture as against bourgeois humanist values. As a result, at this stage of development of Chinese society, the theories and approaches that they are presenting in conducting the ideological struggle are quite inadequate to free the society from the evil effects of individualism. The problems with which the Chinese society is confronted today have a new aspect. That is precisely that very trend aimed at reducing sense of individual freedom and liberty, emancipation of individual and individualism—to individual privileges and vulgar individualism, with the attainment of more and more stability in economic and political spheres in socialist society, which I have already termed as 'Socialist Individualism' meaning, a new kind of individualism in socialist society. Naturally, mere repeated reiterations of

the old theories, differing only in languages, will not help to eliminate the influence of vile individualism from the society and the people. With the passing of this phase (meaning the present phase of Cultural Revolution—Ed. P.E.) stability will come. Again a wave of struggles followed by a period of stability will appear in succession. And in every such period of stability this new kind of individualism will be gathering its strength unnoticed and is sure to affect the party and the leadership. Even to-day, the ideological appeals of the Chinese Communist Party that have been found effective in rousing and inspiring the people are essentially based on the spirit of self-sacrifice founded on bourgeois humanist values, that is to say, "surrendering self interest to the cause of social responsibility and to make individual interest consistent with social interest and to the interest of revolution", and nothing else. The principal tune of this appeal is at one with the tune of bourgeois humanism. They possess no other higher and more developed ideological weapon—higher ethical and moral concepts of proletarian culture for rousing and inspiring the people. They are still attempting to lead the masses with the same old sense of moral and ethical values and the old quotations of Mao-Tse-tung. The writings of Mao-Tse-tung have proved quite adequate to face and tackle the complexities and problems of class struggles, in the background of backwardness of the Chinese society that existed before the revolution and even for a certain period after the revolution.

So, the writings of Mao-Tse-tung may be found inspiring to those who are fighting in the jungles of Vietnam against imperialism or even to us, considering the present

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PRESS CLIPPING

The CPI(M) leaders, EMS Nambudripad, A.K. Gopalan, Jyoti Basu, P. Rammurti and Harkisen Singh Surjit met the Prime Minister in Delhi on 9th April last.....

...The main topics of this meeting was election adjustment. The Polit-bureau met last on this topic ten days before the promulgation of emergency i.e. on the 16th June, 1975. Since the Polit-Bureau is again pondering over this issue after such a long gap, the leaders must have been thinking of participating in the ensuing election. And the meet with the Prime Minister just before concluding this discussion (in the Polit-Bureau) is no doubt very significant.

According to the CPI(M) papers, the leaders, are said to have met the P.M. in her residence to submit a charter of demands..... And there is no ground to believe that the CPI(M) leaders have talked long 40 minutes simply over the demands.....

Most of the workers are not regarding the meeting righteous enough. They argue: How the leaders expect that the P.M. would accept the demands placed? And if they think so, how they can criticise the Government? These two are quite contradictory.

—Ananda Bazar Patrika 17.4.76.

The CPI(M) leader, Mr. Jyoti Basu said ... the 4-member Polit-Bureau delegation... tried to impress upon the Prime Minister the necessity for the mobilisation of people in support of certain programme under her 20-Point measures.....

Besides, according to Mr. Basu, there were areas of agreement on certain issues with regard to the attitude to Right reaction, monopolists and capitalism. Mr. Basu said that the delegation reminded Mrs. Gandhi of their party's consistent fight against these evils.....

—Amrita Bazar patrika, 17.4.76.

CPI(M) and Congress

"Though Mr. Jyoti Basu in an interview with your

Special Representative (May 1—3) has denied any "shift towards the right" in his party's policy, it is clear that the CPI(M) has travelled long distance from the hectic days of the late Sixties and early Seventies. It has become more mature and responsible and is no longer interested in adventurist policies. It is significant that Mr. Basu, while ruling out any "election alliance" with the CPI, is not opposed to a "joint movement on issues affecting the people not only with the CPI" but also with others, "including the Congress."

It is clear that a fundamental change is taking place in the CPI(M), at least in West Bengal. It has assumed a 'low profile' and appears to have abandoned the path of violence. Perhaps its aging leadership is fed up with the long wait for power which it has tasted once and jealous of the CPI's success. But the fact remains that the CPI(M) is the only viable party with which the Congress can do business. And understanding with it before the next election will help the Congress to free itself from the influence of PDA partners. It will also usher in an age of stability in West Bengal."

—A letter published in the Statesman, May 7, 1976.

New Delhi, April 15 — India today announced its decision to restore diplomatic representation in Peking to ambassadorial level. Mr. K.R. Narayan, Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs has been named the new Ambassador, a post which was vacant for about 13 years...

Mr. Chavan told the Lok Sabha that the appointment followed discussions between representatives of the two Governments on exchanging Ambassadors..... The Chinese Government yesterday conveyed its agreement to the nomination of Mr. K.R. Narayan.

—Statesman 16 4 76.

The landlords' lobby in Punjab is a force to reckon with. Mr. (Zail) Singh's

political shrewdness, however helped him keep both the landlords and the tenants as happy as possible. He could not ignore the weaker sections as a matter of 'policy' but could not annoy landlords also for the purpose of political stability.

—Statesman, 10.3.76.

The percentage of cultivators in West Bengal between 1961 and 1971 has decreased from 38.50 per cent to 31.75 per cent of the total workers, according to a West Bengal labour survey report. "The decrease in the percentage of cultivators can be explained only by the gradual alienation of small and marginal farmers from land which also accounts for the unusual increase in the number of landless agricultural workers", the survey report says

—Amrita Bazar Patrika, March 24.

Cloth prices would not come down as a result of the budgetary proposals, according to cotton textile industries sources. Initial expectations were that the shift in the pattern of excise levy from specific duties to ad valorem basis would lead to a lowering of prices in the medium and coarse categories, while those in the fine and superfine categories will move up. But a closer inspection of the excise structure has led industry sources to believe that the prices of lower medium and coarse categories would be maintained at current levels while those of higher medium, fine and superfine categories would escalate.

—The Economic Times March 19.

With West Bengal topping the list of states affected, over 4,70,00 workers were laid off in the country after the promulgation of the emergency.

—The Hindusthan Times, March 20.

National Textile Corporation (a public sector undertaking) which

manages 98 sick textile mills in various states, is planning a ten per cent reduction in its labour force. This will affect 17,000 workers.

—Patriot, March 21, '76.

Textile Industry Circles have welcomed the recent announcement of the Union Minister of Commerce of Government's intention to grant the organised sector exemption from the production of controlled cloth and transfer part of this obligation to the handloom sector. One estimate is that cotton textile industry would stand to gain about Rs 20 crores annually as a result of this exemption of the obligation of about 200 million sq. metres.

—Commerce 20.3.76.

In a press conference in Bombay, Sri Shashi Bhusan, M.P. (Congress) wanted the INTUC to dissociate itself from the CIA-dominated unions.

—Times of India 11.3.76.

"We have genuinely endeavoured to translate the ideas of our great leader, Shrimati Indira Gandhi into action."

—Shri Siddhartha Sankar Roy, in the preface to a Report of achievements of his ministry in last four years—Statesman March 20, '76.

Five thousand temporary railway workers still out of job.

New Delhi, 18th March The Railway Minister of State Safi Qureshi has informed the Lok Sabha yesterday that 19 thousand workers have been reinstated out of the 24 thousand temporary workmen who had been retrenched during the last railway strike in 1974.

—Satyayug 19.3.76

Two hundred retrenched railwaymen will never be reinstated.

New Delhi, 18th March: To-day Railway Minister Sri Kamalapati Tripathi has told the Lok Sabha,

the country has lost 500 crores of rupees during the last railway strike. We have decided not to reinstate 200 railway workers. We must not take them back by any means.

—Satyayug 19.3.76.

Mr. Arun Moitra, West Bengal Congress President complained in Calcutta on Wednesday that "elements in state Congress and the administration have joined hands with the rural vested interests to frustrate efforts to enforce the ceiling laws."

—Statesman, 11.3.76.

The West Bengal labour Minister, Dr. Gopaldas Nag, told the State Assembly during question hour on Thursday that cases of retrenchment and closure in the state were on the rise.

In reply to a question.... he said there were 98 cases of closure during 1975. Between the promulgation of the Emergency and the end of 1975, 45 cases of closure were declared and 4218 employees were retrenched. The corresponding figure for the same period in the previous year were 41 cases of closure and 2417 of retrenchment.

—Statesman, 5.3.76.

The Labour Minister, Dr. Gopaldas Nag informed the West Bengal Assembly on Thursday, there were at present over 1.7 million unemployed persons registered with employment exchanges in the state. He said the actual number of the unemployed in the state was a controversial matter since not all the unemployed got their names registered with the employment exchange.....

In reply to another question, Dr. Nag said: there were 392 lay-offs during the Emergency period last year as a result of which over 170,000 employees were affected. Every lay-off, the Minister reminded the House, required the written sanction of the Government.

—Statesman, 19.3.76.

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Joint Ventures In Third Countries : Indian Monopoly Capital A Partner

Lenin, while explaining the phenomenon of imperialism in his famous book 'Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, pointed out "the following five of its basic features :

1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life ;

2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation on the basis of this 'financial capital', of a financial oligarchy ;

3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance : (emphasis added) .

4) the formation of international monopolist-capitalist associations which share the world among themselves ; and

5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed."

Apart from all other points, if we draw our attention to the third one i.e. "the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance" in the question of deciding whether the dominant bourgeois class of a particular country has reached the stage of imperialism or otherwise, we would get some valuable information from the reports now pouring out of the news papers in recent times :

"India has started building up joint venture projects so far in 38 countries of the world either on government to government basis or through private collaboration and vice-versa." (Satyajug 29.4.76)

"Co-operation in joint ventures in third countries was discussed in detail and the US delegation agreed to inform business interest in the USA of the possibilities and scope of colla-

boration arrangements" (Statesman 27.4.76.)

Moreover, "Deputy Commerce Minister, L. P. Singh informed the Lok Sabha today that the government's approval had been accorded to proposal for setting up of joint ventures in Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Iran, Iraq, Nigeria and Indonesia reports UNI.

"The fields covered were construction projects, consultancy services, rubber products, engineering products, automobile parts, architectural equipment, gas cylinder and textile plants, he said in written answer." (Economic Times—31.1.76).

That India has not only entered the world arena in exporting finance capital, though as a junior partner to the advanced imperialist countries, but also has opened up newer avenues—joint collaboration with the countries of the Socialist block—to invest in third and weaker countries, will be evident from the reports of the Joint Business Councils with USSR, Yugoslavia, Rumania etc.

"Indo-Soviet collaboration in third countries is likely" reports Statesman on 30.4.76 and "India and Yugoslavia are to undertake joint ventures" on 6.3.76. The same paper feels proud to inform on 28.4.76 that "India has suggested joint venture projects with Rumania in third countries especially in Africa and West Asia"

But the most illuminating report is that of a meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries published in Economic Times of 21.1.76. According to the report, "They (captains of industry) want the government to give positive encouragement, efforts to this direction (establishment of joint venture projects abroad). Apart from the creation of revolving fund out of which foreign exchange financing facilities can be made available to entrepreneurs on a short-term

basis, they are of the view that the government should allow Indian industrialists to contribute a part of their shareholding in the form of cash investment." So far, the government had approved, according to the report, '233 joint venture projects abroad and 133 projects are now effective.....' 'Out of the 133 effective projects, only 65 have gone into production. The remaining 68 are under various stages of implementation. The total investment by way of plant and machinery in 133 is placed at Rs. 41 crores," let alone the remaining other hundred and investment in cash. 'Most of the joint ventures are in developing countries.....Some projects are also coming up in some of the advanced capitalist countries including the USA and the UK.... A new plant, first of its kind, is being set up in Canada.....'

One thing should be noted here that all these joint ventures have come up in a second country with the sole dominance and to the interest of Indian capital in those projects i.e. the Indian capitalists are the only major shareholders there. But the Indian monopolists are not satisfied with investment abroad merely or partly in kind or partly in cash. They want more speedy investment in cash, further export of capital openly.

For this purpose, they have demanded from the government 'flexibility in permitting Indian industrialists to contribute a part of their shareholding in cash' to build up joint ventures in other countries. That is not all. In investing their finance capital to exploit the cheap raw material resources and labour power of other countries and side by side to economically and politically dominate those countries which is a part and parcel character of finance capital, the Indian monopolists also are facing resistance from the other side. The resistance is the difficulties in

Law of Capitalism Asserts And Reasserts

In a call to the government, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry—reports the 'Economic Times' (May 3, '76) has suggested for an immediate easing of the anti-inflationary measures for breaking recession and initiating processes for industrial revival.

Speaker after speaker, all representatives of the big monopoly houses, rose to express their disagreement with government's analysis that the current industrial situation could not be characterised as one of general recession. Though they agreed that the recession was not all-pervasive but they held that it was more widespread than the sectoral recession experienced in 1967-68. The present recession, according to these top monopolists has affected both heavy engineering and light engineering industries, consumer goods, confectionary, pharmaceutical and drugs.

Mr. K.K. Birla, who

moved the resolution on fiscal and monetary policies held that ; "The enemy to-day is not inflation but recession."

Mr. A.K. Jain warned that if the opportunity to inject anew dynamism into the economy was lost, there was the danger of the country lapsing into economic stagnation. Mr. Jain wanted "an end to the wage freeze as a means to bring about demand revival"

Both Mr. Arunachalam, the president elect of FICCI and Mr. Jain said that capacity utilisation of industries was low and those which had suffered most were jute, textiles, mini steel plant castings, transmission towers, cables, wires, conductors, steel pipes and tubes, automobiles and auto-ancillaries.

A pertinent question, therefore, arises then what actually accounts for 'the danger of the country lapsing into economic stagnation' as also non-utilisa-

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'finding out the right local partners and attitude of the foreign Governments'. And to face those difficulties, 'it is also considered', by the FICCI, 'imperative to protect Indian investment abroad through a suitable guarantee scheme' which they now demand from the government. This 'guarantee scheme' against the 'attitude of the foreign governments' will, no doubt be political steps to be taken by this Government which the Indian bourgeoisie are thinking of. This will obviously show to what extent the phenomenon of exporting Indian finance capital has developed.

This corroborates what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, on the basis of concrete analysis of these facts had rightly observed long ago, in 1960, that the Indian capital in its very process of development has already not only reached the stage

of monopoly capitalism but also given birth to financial oligarchy: it is now, though a junior partner, yet a partner in the international trust and cartel of monopoly finance capital and has appeared as a competitor in world capitalist market.

Let us hope that those in our country who call themselves 'Marxists' but fail to make a scientific analysis of the character of the Indian monopoly capital which has been steadily exporting capital outside, would at least take account of the facts as they are and not with any blinker and ponder deeply over the points we have reiterated here. If they take the trouble of doing so, they would find that there is nothing like 'semi-feudal' or 'comprador' that can be associated with the characterisation of Indian economy or Indian national bourgeoisie. They are mere fictions divorced from reality.

The State will not wither away unless the Society can be freed from the influence of Socialist Individualism

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relatively backward stage of class struggle in our country. But much of the old teachings of Mao-Tse-tung will lose their bearing, significance and impact on those communists of new generation who are living today at a relatively higher stage of economic and industrial development in socialist society. To them, therefore, many of the old teachings of Mao-Tse-Tung have, in that sense, become obsolete and exhausted to some extent. So in the present socialist society of China, it is incumbent on the leadership to present anew clearly to the communists and the people at large, what should be the essence of proletarian moral values, ethics and culture and what should be its content. In order to imbibe the communists and the progressive individuals of those countries having relative economic stability and those bourgeois democratic countries where sense of individual freedom has already been reduced to individual privileges, it is essential to show the historic limitations of the bourgeois humanist values and wherein lies its reactionary role as well as to show what should be the essence of proletarian moral values and culture.

Old standard of communist moral values have become inadequate to meet the newer complexities of present situation

I have already pointed out that the ideal of "surrendering individual's interest to social interest, adjustment of individual's necessities with those of the society" is nothing different from the ideals of bourgeois humanist values. Up till now, the highest standard of communist moral values was considered to have been reflected in those and only they were considered as the real communists who were able to "surrender unconditionally and happily, the cause of individual interest to social interest, place the

cause of revolution and party above all and subordinate individual interest to the cause of revolution and party". And in "Communist Education" by Kalinin, this was considered to be the highest standard of communist consciousness. Also in the book "How to Be a Good Communist" written by Liu-Shao-chi (although this book, of late, is being severely criticised and discarded, once it was approved by the Central Committee of CPC and considered as a highly acclaimed document), this has been regarded to be the highest communist standard. But this cannot be considered as the adequate standard for the leading communists, in the context of newer complexities of present day life. Because, it is observed that even living under the exploitative system the concept of freedom and individualism is being reduced to individual privileges on a wide scale and individual's indifferent attitude to social problem is on the increase, daily. After bourgeois sense of 'right of equality' being really established and the individual freedom and individualism being freed from bourgeois and feudal repression in socialist society an individual is enjoying more and more freedom and privileges. But even in socialist society, as the state still exists as an instrument of coercion, man's struggle for emancipation has entered into a new historical phase. Consequently, unless a correct theoretical analysis and understanding confirmed by the law of historical development, is provided as to what stands as the stumbling block in the way of man's emancipation, to-day, even the communists who are enjoying more and more facilities and amenities in socialist society, may reduce the sense of individual freedom and liberty to privileges again. So, sufficient light must be thrown on the newer

problems confronting man's struggle for emancipation in socialist society.

The state will not wither away unless the society can be freed from the influence of socialist individualism

The contradiction that exists between the individual interest and the social interest is antagonistic in nature. So long antagonistic contradiction between the individual and the state, on one hand and between individual interest and social interest, on the other remain, even after the problems relating to production and other issues having been resolved, the State will not wither away, i.e. it will not disappear. State, even though it is a socialist state, is after all, instrument of coercion. A bourgeois state differs from a socialist state in the sense that while the former is a coercive instrument that curbs the interest of the ninety-nine per cent people of the country to protect the interest of the one percent, the latter is a coercive machinery that frustrates the counter-revolutionary attempts and reactionary activities of the one percent, to safeguard the interest of ninety-nine percent of the society. And so long the state exists as a reflection of this antagonistic contradiction, till then even in socialism, the individual must have to submit to the social interest and the trend of revolt against the repressive character of the socialist state will repeatedly appear in individuals and for this, the social objective will suffer time and again. Time and again the individual will revolt and his indifferent attitude towards social problems will grow more and more. As a result, the appeal of the nobility of communist ideology and the power of communist dedication will lose their earlier attraction or it will lead to the trend of liberalisation. In other words, more and more demands

for greater individual freedoms and rights will be raised. And if this process continues, then this will again give birth to revisionism and that will only help the restoration of capitalism.

The problem is to be viewed in a different way. It is to be understood that in socialism, right is not to be wrested from anyone, i.e. the question of achieving freedom or acquiring right fighting against any alien ruling class no more arises in socialist society. Because of the continuance of class struggle in socialist society, the oppression of the state still remains to some extent, necessary, mainly to curb the conspiratorial activities of the dispossessed bourgeoisie and the vile self-centred individualistic activities of certain individuals that stand in the path of the development of individual's real freedom and complete emancipation with the gradual development of the socialist social system. The problem is not that any alien class is oppressing the people to exploit them. The matter does not at all stand there. In the socialist society of today, it is the old bourgeois concept of individual freedom and mental make-up that stands in the way of conducting a new struggle for individual's freedom and emancipation at this new stage. And this old mental make-up is obstructing the individual necessity and individual interest to merge and become identified with the social necessity and social interest. At this new stage of social development this stands as the main obstacle in the way of individual's emancipation. And if this persists, class-struggle will not cease completely even after the disappearance of class as economic category and because of the evil effect of vile individualism, the state will not wither away from the society. As a result, individual will not be completely free from

the coercion of the state. Because whenever the state exists, it exists with its coercive character, in whatever form it may be.

The real emancipation of the individual lies in the complete identification of individual interest with social interest

So while conducting the struggle for complete victory of socialism, the main object of the struggle for the emancipation of the individual should be to transform the antagonistic nature of contradiction existing between the individual necessity and social necessity into the non-antagonistic one. It is only by achieving a complete success in this struggle through cultural revolution that a basic and qualitative transformation in the content and outlook of individual's desire and its fulfilment will take place. After passing through successive stages of cultural revolution when the socialist society reaches such an advanced stage, then and then only, the state can wither away. Then only, man will be free from all sorts of social coercion. So, it is obvious that individual's struggle for emancipation has reached a new and complex height and has assumed a new character in socialist society where to resolve this problem, a more intense and arduous struggle is to be conducted for complete identification of the self-interest with the interest of the society through unflinching dedication and constant vigil. Hence, it is a new standard of ethics and human value, a level that is completely and basically different from and higher than the level of the bourgeois humanist values, that so long have been applied in practice to inspire and attract the workers and cadres in communist movement. So long the standard of morality which worked in proletarian revolutionary politics is that the individual interest must be subordinated to the greater cause

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The Real Emancipation Of The Individual Lies In The Complete Identification Of Individual Interest With Social Interest

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of social interest. But if the level of consciousness remains the same in the present new and completely changed situation of socialist social system, then it is impossible to achieve 'complete dedication' and arrest the trend of individualism. If the standard of communist morality is allowed to remain static at this point, then the trend and tendency of individualism will certainly continue to remain within the society despite pious wishes and talks on proletarian cultural revolution or mere recognising the necessity of continuously lifting proletarian politics towards its revolutionary transformation. The influence of 'Ego' and bourgeois individualism, in some form or other, will be at work inside the society so long the vanity and mental complex of self-sacrifice will be there. So, the mental complex of self-sacrifice should be lifted and transformed, yielding place to real recognition of social necessity.

So, from the discussions we have made so far, it would be clear, how subtly, surreptitiously and under newer garbs, the old bourgeois thoughts and ideas are working within the society. The Chinese leadership, in my opinion, while fighting individualism has moved close to grasping the root of the problem. But still now, they have not succeeded to provide a clear and precise theoretical basis of the problem, I have discussed so long.

Unless these theoretical weaknesses and shortcomings are removed, the Chinese society cannot be free from the danger of reappearance of revisionism in future

First of all, the whole problem is to be grasped conceptually, giving it a firm theoretical basis. And thereafter, a country-

wide powerful movement has to be developed centring round this new concept of communist morality. But the Chinese Cultural Revolution has not yet been able to take up this problem, in this light. The object of the Cultural Revolution in China, is to fight and eradicate that very trend of bourgeois individualism, falling victim to which, some of the leaders and workers are taking to capitalist road, behaving bureaucratically, reflecting in their behaviours the trend of economism, following the revisionist outlook and path and placing the importance of arms and weapons over the unity on the basis of proletarian revolutionary consciousness, within the army. The object of this Cultural Revolution is, therefore, to create such a condition so that the entire Chinese nation can stand as 'one man' against all their adversities and to cope up with all the problems confronting their society by eradicating and freeing the people from the influence of these evils. The immediate objective of the Cultural Revolution will be fulfilled, for the present, with the completion of these tasks. But the present programme of Cultural Revolution will not be able to free the party completely from the danger of reappearance of revisionism, in future. That individual's struggle for emancipation enters a new and complex height in a socialist society—they have not been able to correctly grasp the nature of this particular phenomenon and to give it a theoretical basis. For this, they have failed to incorporate this theoretical understanding as the central focal point of the Cultural Revolution to imbibe even the workers and rank and file of the party in their struggle to raise their level of consciousness to a higher sense of responsibility to

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very day, out of the struggle of building up a correct revolutionary party, following the correct Marxist-Leninist line, under the leadership of our great beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the outstanding Marxist-Leninist thinkers of the present era.

To-day, on the 28th Anniversary of the party, we remember the foundation day with great reverence and take the pledge: we will fulfil the historic task of the SUCI to lead the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country to success.

The SUCI and our great beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh have taught us in carrying on uninterrupted struggle against imperialism, the main enemy of freedom, peace, socialism and world revolution and particularly against American imperialism, the bastion of imperialism and reaction. On this great historic day we take the firm pledge: We will untiringly follow this lesson with devotion and carry forward the liberation struggles and revolutionary movements throughout the entire world speedily to successful and desired culmination by strengthening the hands of the anti-imperialist struggles.

The sharpening of the anti-imperialist liberation struggles in the post Second World War era in the colonial and semi colonial countries is an event of utmost importance which has given rise to a powerful new tide in the current of world revolutionary the society. Only if a cultural movement throughout the length and breadth of the country can be released on the sound basis of the above theoretical understanding, this realisation will dawn on them that herein lies the real emancipation of mankind.....

[Free Translation from Chiner Sanskritic Biplab (The Cultural Revolution in China) by Shibdas Ghosh]

movement.

On this great historic day of the 24th April, we once again take the pledge: Under the leadership of the SUCI and the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we will extend unstinted moral and all out support to these anti-imperialist liberation struggles of different countries.

On the eve of the victory of the world revolution—reformism revisionism and in particular Soviet revisionism have appeared today as the main danger confronting the World Communist Movement and brought great disaster in the liberation struggle of the people throughout the entire world.

The SUCI and our great beloved leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has taught us the lesson to conduct ceaseless ideological struggle against revisionism and thereby give defeat to all forms of revisionism and re-establish the unity and solidarity of the world socialist camp. To-day we take pledge: We will fulfil these tasks with all our strength.

In this period of the third general crisis of the world capitalist market—through the attempts of counter revolutionary uprisings against the possible proletarian revolution, by making the people confused through wearing a cloak of democratic socialism and raising radical slogans on the one hand and adopting some social democratic programmes and measures on the other hand, fascism is manifesting itself as a general feature in all capitalist-imperialist countries, developed or under-developed, either in the form of naked dictatorship or even by maintaining the facade of parliamentary democracy. The rise of fascism is far more dangerous and calamitous than any form of naked military dictatorship.

Our great leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has placed before us the overall scientific evaluation of fascism. On this very day we take pledge: Following his teachings we

will carry on an all out struggle against fascism the most hated enemy of the humanity, by forging the broadest unity of all the progressive and democratic forces.

Though India attained political independence through the transfer of power in 1947, the workers, peasants and the exploited people of all strata did not attain emancipation....

So, on this great historic day of the 24th April, we firmly pledge: Under the leadership of the correct revolutionary party, the SUCI and the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, we will achieve people's emancipation....

Our country is confronted with three main problems (1) modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture 2) uninterrupted industrial development and 3) solution of unemployment problem. The solution of these three main problems is inseparably linked up with the abolition of capitalism and establishment of socialism in India. Today, in our country, capitalism is not only dominating the political field but also the economic field including agriculture, has arrived at the stage of monopoly capital, finance capital and... caused....crisis in the life of the workers, peasants and all exploited people.

So, on this historic day of the 24th April, we take pledge: We will strengthen the struggle for emancipation of workers, peasants and the exploited people on the basis of the correct political line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution following the teachings of the SUCI and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat.

To-day, we take the vow: We shall never submit to any oppression, intimidation or temptation, nor shall we rest till socialism is established in our country abolishing capitalism.

In our country all forms of reformism, revisionism, particularly revisionism

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Law of Capitalism Asserts And Reasserts

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tion of capacity of different industries and so on against which the spokesmen of top monopoly houses are clamouring vociferously for injecting 'new dynamism to the economy' and 'an end to the wage freeze as a measure to bring about demand revival'?

The malaise is not confined to India alone; nor is it a feature suffering from vulnerable weaknesses which can be broken through within the framework of capitalist economy. It is the universal features of all the capitalist countries world over—developed and under-developed. On examination of average growth of industrial production of the capitalist world as a whole it will be revealed that villain of the piece for industrial slump is the crisis-ridden world capitalist economy of which India is a part and parcel.

Let us peep into the position in brief. It is admitted on all hands that the capitalist production so based on market, motive force of production being maximum profit of the bourgeoisie and not maximum satisfaction of material and cultural requirements of the people which is motive force of production under socialism. Capitalism which is based on exploitation of the people by a handful capitalists, the people remain in a state of relative poverty resulting in relative reduction of effective demand for goods produced. As expansion of production in capitalism always encounters the narrow limits of consumption by the people, production in the capitalist society, therefore, runs ahead of consumption. The result is capitalist crisis of so-called over-production.

But, as Com. Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist philosopher of the present era and our beloved leader and teacher has taught us that the

crisis of present day capitalism after it has entered into third phase of intense general crisis, is quite different from its earlier ones in as much as it has lost its relative stability of market which it used to enjoy before the Second World War in spite of its general crisis till the Second World War. As a result the tendency and trend of decay and stagnation in capitalist economy is discernible more markedly and that the crisis has been affected increasingly larger number of industries and is continuing for longer period. Even heavy doses of artificial stimulation in the form of state orders for defence industries by the ruling bourgeoisie are of no avail to bring the desired result.

In such a situation, let alone achieving faster economic growth and steady rise of industrial production, it is next to impossible for present day capitalism to even keep running the wheels of the existing industries with full installed capacities.

In our country, the purchasing capacity of vast majority of the people is minimal. That is to say, the home market is too short to absorb the goods of industries if productive capacity is fully utilised when the very motive force of production is to secure maximum profit. And it is this law of maximum profit of monopoly capitalism that accounts for the high price structure of commodities. Naturally, any measure that further curbs the already low purchasing power of the people is sure to bring in its turn recessionary trend in the economy.

And from this basic understanding of the law of capitalism, our party made a very important pointer when the Government was taking certain measures to curb consumption by restricting its declared objective of containing inflation. Our

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Dr. Gopal Das Nag, West Bengal State Labour Minister said in the State Assembly on 19th March that "dark clouds are hovering over the industrial scene" and added "almost every day my department hears complaints from employers that because of lack of finance and orders they would be forced to shut down their units".....

He named about five jute mills that were closed and said "about eight others may have to close down within the next few days."

Warning trade unionists, Dr. Nag said: "The system of linking wages to productivity may be introduced any day. You should prepare your members for such a situation."

Dr. Nag said employer-employee relations in the state had improved but economic factors were Party some two years back, then, pointed out, that:

"this...can in no way curb the inflationary trend in the least, on the contrary, it will aggravate the very problem and add to the spiralling of prices and consequent fall of value of money in so far as it will lead to further curtailment of already low purchasing capacity of the common people resulting in more contraction of the internal market which in its turn will further dampen whatever little urge for capital investment for production is there. This will act as a brake in the process of raising the production level without which all talks of putting a check on the dangerous inflationary trend in our capitalist economy is nonsense".

(Proletarian Era, 15th July '74)

Bare experience now vindicates the correctness of the approach of our party which means nothing else but recognition of the very law of capitalism which asserts and reasserts, notwithstanding the fanciful theories that try to hide the reality.

largely responsible for deteriorating industrial relations. Closure of units affected 11,194 people in 1975 against 6,820 the previous year.

—Statesman, 20.3.76.

Ninety percent of farm labour are not aware of the minimum rates of wages fixed by the State Governments, according to a sample survey by the Labour Department of the West Bengal Government. "It is thus apparent that a section of workers are getting wages below the minimum rates of wages prescribed by the State Government" the survey concludes.

Discussing the labour-

landowner relations, the Survey says that 96% of the sampled labourers did not have any conflict with the landowners regarding perquisites, wage rates and so on. "In the course of the enquiry it transpired that the causes of such superficial amicable relationship with the employers are many, the most significant being their casual nature of employment."

"This presents a sharp contrast with labour-management relations in organised industries. Furthermore, most of them are afraid to raise any protest because of the fear of losing employment".

—Statesman, 20.3.76.

THE PLEDGE

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under the cloak of pseudo-leftism and ultra left adventurism are still working as social democratic compromising forces, thereby disrupting and hindering the anti-capitalist revolutionary movement and causing incalculable harm to the revolutionary struggle.

Inspired by the teachings of the SUCI and our great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, on this great day of 24th April we take pledge: We will give defeat to the different trends of social democracy by carrying out ceaseless, sharp ideological struggle within the democratic movement and by forging the fighting unity of workers, peasants and the exploited people, we will achieve the socialist revolution.

The SUCI and our great leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh have taught us that allegiance to the working class and the revolution can truly be realised and reflected through one's allegiance to revolutionary ideology, the revolutionary party and revolutionary leadership and through giving a concrete shape to the revolutionary line and fulfilling the revolutionary ideal while preserving at all costs the unity and discipline of the party. We take the pledge: We will

constantly follow with all dedication this valuable teachings of our great leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and the SUCI, the instrument of struggle of the working class and the exploited people in our country.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our guide, the leader and teacher of SUCI has taught us the historic lesson that it is fear alone which is man's main enemy. He has taught us that even a starving nation can stand erect and fight if its moral backbone remains strong and straight and if it can overcome fear. He has also taught us that for man, the most honoured and dignified life is the life of a revolutionary and it is only by leading the life of a revolutionary that one can achieve self-respect, development and emancipation.

On this day we take a firm pledge: We will constantly cultivate these valuable teachings of the SUCI under the leadership of our great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and carry forward the task of revolution with creative efforts and initiatives.

Long live revolution
Long live 24th April
Long live SUCI
Long live
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.